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CONSIDERATIONS

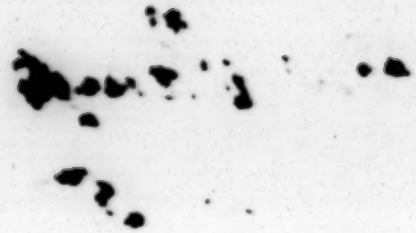
UPON THE

AMERICAN ENQUIRY.

Of the Military and Naval Conduct of the War

1779

See the various Characters of Burke and Fox in p. 22, 23 & 24.



CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

AMERICAN ENQUIRY.

——Quid facitis? quæ vos dementia, dixi,
Concitat, O ſocii, captam dimittere Trojam?

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CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

AMERICAN ENQUIRY.

THE preſent is an alarming moment; nor are they to be deſpiſed who feel fears upon the occaſion. Our ſituation would juſtify apprehenſion, if apprehenſion did not render our ſituation more deſperate. With an expence of treaſure new difficulties croud upon us; with a waſte of blood, freſh enemies hourly preſent themſelves. We have ſeen the force of this country unſucceſsfully tried in America; and we are now called upon to exert it againſt America, France, and Spain. Our natural foes contemplate our enfeebled ſituation with rancorous delight, and are advancing to preſs us to the ground. The powerful nation, whoſe right hand, but yeſterday, was to ſmite America, now

trembles for herſelf: from dreams of foreign conqueſt, ſhe wakes to plans of domeſtic ſafety, and ſtarts, affrighted with the din of arms, from her luxuriant couch.

What has given riſe to this revolution? How has this ſudden change been effected?

While Parliament was ſitting, it would have been preſumption in an individual to have endeavoured to call off the attention of the people from the collected wiſdom of the nation. The deliberations of their repreſentatives were the oracles to which they would naturally reſort, in all caſes of doubt and difficulty; and in whoſe determinations all their confidence would be veſted. But, whether fortunately or unfortunately for this country, time muſt decide, thoſe difficulties, which appeared to us alarming, have ſcarcely ſeemed worthy of notice to them. In the Lower Houſe, the greateſt part of the laſt Seſſions has been conſumed in enquiries that could only derive their conſequence from a total dearth of any more intereſting ſubjects. For had there been a proſpect of immediate danger to the kingdom, the ſafety of the nation could never have given way to Admiral Keppel's vindication, or to the eſtabliſhment of Sir William Howe's military fame. In the proceedings of the

the Upper Houſe this truth becomes more ſtriking. The dignity of Peerage condeſcended to examine into the breeches of decayed ſeamen; and the firſt aſſembly in the nation, with a more than Gallic regard for the rules of decorum, conſumed a day to ſettle the etiquette of ſalute between the chaplain and the penſioners of Greenwich hoſpital.

If we had therefore no other proof of exiſting danger but the proceedings of parliament, we ſhould naturally conclude it ideal and imaginary. But when we look around, and behold in every part of the kingdom the moſt unuſual preparations; the huſbandman dragged from his peaceful occupation; the mariner torn from his wife and family; felons permitted to make their option between military ſervice and infamous puniſhment; every purſe open to the hand of Government; an intended invaſion announced from the Throne;—we wake from the deluſion, into which Parliament had plunged us, aſtoniſhed at their inconſiderateneſs, and alarmed for our own ſituation.

With regard to our natural enemies, one ſentiment only can prevail. But it becomes a queſtion, whether, under our preſent circum-

ſtances, we ſhould ſtill perſiſt in our efforts againſt America—Let us look back to the meaſures we have already purſued; and from paſt errors endeavour to collect precepts for future wiſdom.

The privilege of not being taxed without our own conſent, has, ſince the earlieſt periods of our conſtitution, been deſervedly dear to every Engliſhman. Perhaps there is not one of which the people are more jealous; or even their repreſentatives, in times of the greateſt corruption, more watchful. Independently of the quiet enjoyment of "private property" being one of the three component parts of liberty, it forms ſuch a reſtraint upon the royal power, as to give to the people, could they remain uncorrupted, the controul over almoſt every action of the crown (*a*).

I will not enter into the queſtion, whether a diſtant colony, dependent upon a kingdom, has a right to ſhare every privilege in common with that kingdom: or whether this country had any juſt claim of taxation over America unrepreſented. It is ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe to conſider, that this country attempted to exer-

(*a*) In De Lolme on the Conſtitution, p. 86, this is placed in a very ſtrong light.

ciſe

ciſe that right, and that America reſiſted. In oppoſition to an unpopular act, they made uſe of every popular art; and employed language very harmonious to the body of the people. With political ſagacity, they repreſented themſelves as contending for the common cauſe; and turning aſide the dagger that was through their ſides to ſtab the conſtitution of this country. They called upon every Engliſhman to join them in oppoſition to ſo odious a claim; and to feel for fellow-ſubjects who were labouring to reſiſt an unconſtitutional meaſure. They artfully affected to conſider the *act of parliament* as diſtinct from the *act of the people*; while their friends in this country refined upon their cunning, and diſtinguiſhed between the *act of parliament* and the *act of the miniſter*. The plain underſtanding of an Engliſhman was not proof againſt ſuch addreſs, and the nation was much divided upon the juſtice of their cauſe. The moſt violent juſtified their reſiſtance, and conſidered them as champions in the cauſe of liberty; while even the moſt moderate alleged, it was imprudent in this country to endeavour to enforce a claim, which, whether juſt or unjuſt, would certainly never be quietly ſubmitted to.

But the time was come when the conteſt was to aſſume another appearance, and the queſtion

queſtion of ſtrength to be tried. Parliament adopted a hoſtile ſyſtem; armies were ſent forth, and fleets equipped. A new ſcene was now exhibited, and the ſubjects of this country were permitted to array themſelves in a hoſtile manner, in the face of the Britiſh army. They were collecting ammunition, and had provided cannon; when the plains of Lexington were dyed with the firſt blood ſhed in the preſent civil war.

The nation now pauſed for a moment.—Grief was ſeen upon ſome countenances; deep reflexion was perceived upon all. From different emotions different counſels reſulted. One party thought it time to drop every peaceful meaſure, and became clamorous for hoſtility and war. The other threatened Miniſters with the conſequences of their conduct, who had provoked a brave people to reſiſtance by an invaſion of their rights; and charged them with irritating the minds of freemen by pointing the bayonet at their breaſts.

Miniſtry ſeemed to feel the divided ſtate of the nation, and their meaſures were indeciſive and irreſolute. They appear not to have thought ſeriouſly of any laſting reſiſtance on the part of America; and to have imagined,

that the appearance of force would terrify them into ſubmiſſion. Indeed ſuch was the language of the day. The Americans were repreſented as daſtardly poltroons, incapable of any manly exertion; and the expreſſion was employed, that though, "dogs in forehead, in hearts they were deer (*b*)." Thoſe, who publiſhed theſe opinions, ſeemed to forget, that there is a certain value beneath which no human quality ſhould be eſtimated; and that even the timid "deer," when it perceives no hope but in deſpair, will turn upon its purſuer, and exert thoſe means of defence, with which nature has provided all her creatures.

But whatever might be the opinion of different parties, with regard to the reſiſtance which America made to the claim of taxation, the declaration of independence ſtaggered her moſt zealous friends. A declaration that was to throw off all the authority of this country over America; to expunge from our books every ſtatute concerning her; to annihilate our commerce; to ſhut up our nurſeries of ſeamen; —and taking from us theſe great reſources, pour them into the lap of a powerful rival, and

(*b*) Pope's Homer.

inve-

inveterate enemy—ſuch a declaration can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been very favourably received. There were not, however, wanting men to vindicate this meaſure; while the majority of the American party only endeavoured to palliate it. They attributed it to that ſyſtem of oppreſſion, which Adminiſtration, they ſaid, had uniformly purſued; to the contempt with which every petition had been received, and every remonſtrance rejected; and looked forward to the time, when under the adminiſtration of men in whom they could confide, and upon the adoption of meaſures they might deem equitable, the Americans would revoke this declaration. In the mean time, every packet, that arrived from America, brought freſh proofs of her fixed purpoſe to emancipate herſelf from the dominion of this country. The ſeeds of rebellion, ſcattered with a profuſe hand, were ſpreading widely. The ſoil was friendly, and the climate genial.

Poſterity will hardly credit the tale, that at a time, when we were at peace with all the world, except America, there could be found a man, who, urging ſo diſgraceful a motive as the defeat of our arms, could propoſe to the people of this country to acknowledge American independence.

pendence. The Duke of Richmond (*c*) was the man who came forward with this daſtardly propoſal; which was ſhortly followed by a notification from the Court of France, of their having concluded a treaty with America as an independent ſtate. The Earl of Chatham ſtill lived; or rather, under a complication of diſorders, he protracted a weariſome exiſtence. His under-

(*c*) It would be diſreſpectful to paſs by this illuſtrious character, without rendering it due homage. His Grace plays a very conſpicuous part in the tragedy of the times. He is no orator; but, like the proſtitute in Scripture, "loud and noiſy." His application is indefatigable; and it is not his fault if his judgment is not equal to it. By oppoſing Miniſters he has acquired ſome degree of fame. There are men who, without poſſeſſing wiſdom enough to diſcover what is right, have juſt ſenſe enough to diſcover what is wrong. His Grace is certainly a powerful opponent; not from any final triumph which he obtains, but becauſe he proves an obſtacle in the mean time. He is, moreover, remarkably captious and turbulent; and calls to our recollection John Lilburn of notorious memory, of whom it was ſaid, *if there were no other man living but himſelf, Lilburn would quarrel with John.*

The following lines have unaccountably ſtrayed into this note:

Therſites only clamoured in the throng,
Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue;
Aw'd by no ſhame, by no reſpect controul'd,
In ſcandal buſy, in reproaches bold.
The Great to cenſure was his darling theme,
But Royal ſcandal * his delight ſupreme.

* What cared he for the King's birth-day?——D. of R.

ſtanding preſerved its vigour; but his corporal infirmities rendered him unfit for the labours of public life. His mind was the helpleſs tenant of a decayed caſtle, venerable in its ruins! He was the firſt, who had ſtarted doubts in Parliament with regard to the right of this country to tax America, and had declared that "he rejoiced in her reſiſtance." He had cenſured the conduct of Adminiſtration as founded in error and folly, and had made unſucceſsful efforts to effect a reconciliation. But when he found that the aims of America were no longer diſguiſed, and that, renouncing all attachment to this country, ſhe became an inſtrument to the ambition of France, he hurried down to Parliament, anxious to deliver his opinions. He exclaimed againſt the perfidy of our enemies; he execrated their mad ambition, that was kindling throughout Europe the flames of war. He dwelt upon the reſources of this country; he expatiated upon her ſpirit. He avowed himſelf a friend to America till ſhe had declared independence; but in the purſuit of this meaſure he "would contribute his ſhirt off his back to oppoſe her." It was a ſolemn ſight, to behold the expiring efforts of this illuſtrious Stateſman! All parties gazed upon him with reverence; and a mute awe pervaded the auguſt Aſſembly. It ſeemed as if they had anticipated the event that was ſoon to take place; and, like children, were croud-

crouding round the death-bed of their aged and venerable parent, to receive the laſt teſtimonies of his affection, and the dictates of his departing experience.—His words gave new vigour to firmneſs; freſh confidence to hope; and ſentiments, flowing from his enlightened underſtanding, were received and treaſured up, as the ſacred precepts of political morality.

The opinion of the nation became ſettled from this time. No man in a public ſituation would avow a ſentiment in favour of American independence; and none but a few ſlaves to ſyſtem, whoſe influence was as weak as their abilities were inſignificant, were heard to mutter in ſupport of it.

Force had been exerted without ſucceſs; and Parliament determined to try the effects of moderation. Commiſſioners went out, with a power to grant every privilege to America, ſhort of independence. Unfortunately the intentions of this country could not be fully revealed to them; for expreſſions occurring in the Commiſſioners declaration injurious to "their great and generous ally the good King of France," reduced the Congreſs (*d*) to the neceſſity of putting an end to its further reading; and after a ſeries of fruitleſs efforts, the Commiſſioners returned to this country.

(*d*) Proceedings of Congreſs.

Such has been the progreſs of this unhappy conteſt; and at this day there cannot remain a doubt with regard to the future conduct of the American Congreſs. They will never relinquiſh independence while they can poſſibly preſerve it; and no entreaty, no conceſſion, upon our part, will induce them to change their purpoſe. Force only can bring them back to the ſubjection of this country; and we muſt truſt to the vigour of our arms, for what every other method has been unſucceſsfully exerted to obtain.—But what have we to hope from theſe? Has not the glory of our arms been already ſufficiently tarniſhed? To what purpoſe have we handled them, but to croud the priſons of America, and to call forth the armaments of France and Spain? Where are our ſucceſſes to be found? Where are our triumphs recorded? Every victory we claim diſputed by the enemy, and nothing certain but our defeats. Of theſe we have unfortunately the moſt damning proofs:

——————————arma,
Militibus ſine cæde———
Direpta vidi; vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo brachia libero.

HOR.

In return for the moſt ample ſupplies of money and men, we have no other ſatisfaction but to learn, that our failure has been owing to the igno-

ignorance of Miniſters, or the incapacity of Generals.

But there are candid and diſintereſted men, who, neither blaming Miniſters nor Commanders, impute our failure to the impracticability of our attempt. You have not, ſay they, made difficulties to yourſelves; they have not grown out of your errors; they were inherent in your ſituation. You have attempted to diſturb the neceſſary relations of things; you would combat the order of events. Deſiſt from the vain endeavour; withdraw your troops from America; acknowledge her independence; and conclude a treaty with her as beneficial as you can render it to your intereſt. Your ſituation becomes every day more difficult. If, after a profound peace of ſeveral years, with the moſt laviſh contribution of money and troops, you have not been able to conquer America, in the infancy of military diſcipline, unaſſiſted by any foreign power; what probability is there of your ſucceſs, after you have ſpilled your blood, and exhauſted your treaſure, againſt America trained to arms, hardened in war, and aſſiſted by France and Spain?

To thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to reaſon, it is difficult to detect the fallacy of this argument. The poſitions are founded upon aſſumed facts

of

of popular exiſtence; which, if they were true, muſt compel an inference in its favour. But it is not true that we have made war againſt *America*, but againſt *a rebellion exiſting in America*; and it is equally falſe that *we have done all in our power* to ſubdue that rebellion.

It is confidently aſſerted by Gentlemen (*e*), whoſe long reſidence in America has afforded them every means of information, and whoſe veracity ſtands unimpeached, that not one fifth part of the people of America has, at any period, ſupported from choice the American rebellion. This aſſertion is proved by a variety of facts. The reluctance which the people ſhewed to ſend Delegates to Congreſs was ſo great, that the laſt delegation from the province of Pennſylvania was made by leſs than two hundred voters, although there are, at leaſt, thirty thouſand men entitled to vote by the laws of that province. In the Congreſs of 1774, one of the Delegates from the province of New York, repreſenting a conſiderable diſtrict in that province, was choſen by himſelf and his clerk only. At the time that the Britiſh army was expected in Philadelphia, the Pennſylvania militia could not be prevailed upon to turn out. In diſobedience to repeated proclamations, the Britiſh army was ſupplied with great plenty of proviſions. Though Con-

(*e*) General Robertſon and Joſeph Galloway, Eſq.

greſs

greſs voted for the campaign 1777, ſixty-ſix thouſand men, they could not bring into the field, at the utmoſt, ſixteen thouſand. The Congreſs paid 56 *l.* 5*s.* for every recruit, while we only paid 2 *l.* 5 *s.* Deſertions were ſo frequent, that in a day fifty have been known to come in. Such was the averſion to ſerve, that 200 *l.* currency has been given for a ſubſtitute. Seven thouſand provincials are actually ſerving in our army. In the back parts of Carolina, one thouſand ſix hundred took up arms in ſupport of the King's authority. It was thought neceſſary to diſarm all the people of Queen's County; and when we conſider the art and violence the Congreſs made uſe of; ſhutting up every ſource of information and complaint, by impriſoning printers, who dared to canvaſs their meaſures; appointing Committees to fruſtrate every plan of the friends of Government; holding forth to them the penalties of confiſcation and high-treaſon; keeping ſpies to watch every motion; an armed force conſtantly before their eyes *(f)*;—when we conſider all theſe circumſtances, it is impoſſible to refuſe belief to the aſſertion of General Robertſon and Mr. Galloway.

But if the people in America are ſo friendly to our cauſe, how happens it that theſe favour-

(f) Evidence of General Robertſon and Mr. Galloway before the Houſe of Commons, *paſſim*.

able diſpoſitions have not been improved, and that the immenſe force we have ſent into that country has not been able to bring her back to a conſtitutional dependence upon this? The queſtion is important, and deſerves ſome degree of conſideration.

Sir William Howe took the command in America, with every favourable expectation from his conduct. He had not ſignalized himſelf by any diſplay of military knowledge; but had ſerved in America under the late General Wolfe, and had given very honourable proofs of his bravery. This was ſufficient to procure him the affection of the people, with whom courage effects even more than charity. He embarked for America with the Generals Clinton and Burgoyne. The ſecond was but little known out of the profeſſion. The latter had, indeed, appeared in more characters than one to the public. His exploits at Preſton were well known, and for ſome time remembered with reſentment; but his zeal to do juſtice to an oppreſſed people, and to vindicate the character of the nation, had in a great degree reinſtated him in the opinion of his countrymen *(g)*. Their departure was celebrated with all the pomp of poetry; and a tempeſt that appeared, about the time of

(g) Enquiry into the ſtate of the Eaſt India Company.

their

their ſailing, upon the face of the ſky, was prophetically interpreted to be the God of Battles arming them with his lightning. *I pede fauſto quo te rapit Jupiter*, was the farewel they received; and the nation was convinced that victory beckoned them acroſs the Atlantic.

But popularity is more eaſily acquired than preſerved. The firſt news that arrived from America (*b*) brought us proofs of what was before very clearly aſcertained, the courage of Sir William Howe; but the nation had reaſon to lament that this gallant officer had been ſo much expoſed. At the expence of the deareſt blood in the nation, a victory it is true was purchaſed; but there were ſome, who, in the emotions of grief for their departed friends and kindred, were heard to exclaim, " It is one thing to gather laurels, it is another to ſcatter cypreſs (*i*)!" It was ſaid, that the raſhneſs of a ſoldier, not the prudence of a General, had conducted this enterprize; and that to " take the bull by the horns" was not always the part of wiſdom.

Sir William Howe felt the reproof, and ſeems to have determined never again to incur a like cenſure. From this period the war was carried

(*b*) Engagement at Bunker's Hill.
(*i*) Sterne.

on, if not with the delay, at leaſt with all the caution of a Fabius; and Sir William had been taught to reſpect the enemy too much, ever again to approach them without all the ceremonies of combat. It is not here a proper place to enumerate what theſe were. They are recorded at length in every Gazette with the profuſeneſs of technical jargon; and may ſerve to undeceive thoſe who have fooliſhly imagined, that any ſucceſs is to be effected in war by dint of diſcipline and valour.

The bulk of the people, who have no conception of armies being long oppoſed to each other without an engagement taking place, began to murmur at this inactivity of the Commander in Chief. Some doubted his capacity, others his zeal in the cauſe. The liberal told us, that the influence of gaming, women and wine was irreſiſtible; the ſordid whiſpered, that Sir William's fortune had been ruined in this country; and inſinuated that his appointments were immenſe. A foreign officer (*k*) was heard to declare, "If you had paid your Generals by the job, and not by the day, this buſineſs would have been ſettled long ago." The moſt inſulting paſquinades were circulated through the town; a reward was offered to whoever ſhould bring news of a ſtrayed army; a moſt hackneyed alluſion was worn thread-bare; and Anthony and

(*k*) General de H——.

Cleo-

Cleopatra led the van of political paragraphs.

Thoſe who attacked his meaſures with ſerious argument, pretended that they diſcovered unpardonable errors in every part of his conduct. With powers for negociating peace, he never exerted them but upon ſome great advantage gained by the rebels; and offered them terms of pardon, when they were fluſhed with ſucceſs, and moſt confident in their cauſe. They alleged that he had loſt ſeveral glaring opportunities of putting an end to the rebellion; and that in five ſeveral complete defeats, at Long Iſland, the White Plains, Quibble Town, Brandy-Wine, and German Town, there was no purſuit made after victory. He permitted the rebels to eſcape, and returned to the dice and his miſtreſs. He indulged in the luxuries of Capua, when he ſhould have marched to the gates of Rome.

Lord Howe, who had been appointed to the command of the fleet, ſhared in ſome degree theſe reflexions with his brother. At the head of an immenſe naval power, he ſuffered the Americans to fit out ſhips of force; and what had never been foreſeen, to become formidable by ſea. Our trade ſuffered ſeverely; the packets of Government were intercepted; and

even upon the coaſt of America a King's ſhip (*l*) was obliged to ſtrike her colours to the American flag. It is ſaid that ſome Gentlemen, who had loſt all their property in this conteſt, applied to his Lordſhip for leave to fit out letters of marque to cruiſe againſt the enemy; and that he ſternly replied, "Will you never have done with diſtreſſing theſe poor people? Will you never give them an opportunity of ſeeing their error?"

The complaints of the nation, and the general diſſatisfaction that prevailed, were become too ſerious to be diſregarded; and it having been ſignified to the Brothers, that his Majeſty conſented to their return, Sir William, and ſhortly after, Lord Howe arrived in this country. In their turns they became clamorous for redreſs, and talked much of their inſulted honour, and much of their injured fame. Parliament after ſome difficulty met their complaints, and an enquiry was inſtituted into their conduct.

We have ſeen that enquiry proceeded upon; and there are three things neceſſary to be conſidered; the nature of the tribunal, the evidence given, and the reſult of the enquiry.

(*l*) Fox, Captain Fotheringham.

It may, perhaps, hereafter be a matter of ſurprize, that no Court could be found in this kingdom to ſit in judgment upon military operations, but the Houſe of Commons; and that no better time could be appointed but at the cloſe of a laborious Seſſions, and at a moment of great national difficulty and danger. It is not eaſy to conceive, how men not bred to the profeſſion, and only accuſtomed *fictis contendere verbis*, could be able to form proper opinions upon the complicated liſt of military manœuvres that have ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the preſent war. The honourable Mr. C. Fox has a quick underſtanding, and Mr. Edmund Burke (*m*) moſt ſurpriſing volubility; but we are yet to learn that they have military judgment, and experience in the art of war. Were they witneſſes of the condition of the rebel army, of their numbers, of their want of diſcipline? Are they acquainted with the face of the country? or

(*m*) When I mention the names of theſe two Gentlemen, I do not mean to repreſent them as ignorant beyond the reſt; but only as having been moſt active in this enquiry. I reſpect their abilities; and have, perhaps, a better opinion of their Patriotiſm than the public. Whatever is ſuggeſted by them ſhould be heard with attention. Their efforts can only proceed from a pure affection to their country; for if our enemies were to become poſſeſſed of every acre of land in the kingdom, they cannot be loſers by the event: and their opinion ought to be attended to; for they are certainly beſt *judges* in a cauſe who are not *parties intereſted*.

can

can they, from a deſcription of it, form any comparative opinion upon the ſtrength of particular ſituations, from ſimilar ſituations that come within their own experience? When and where was this experience acquired? *During their ſervice laſt war in Germany?* The idea is too abſurd for ſerious refutation! It is true, the conduct of the Howes was of great national conſequence, and merited the conſideration of the repreſentatives of the people. But this conſideration ſhould not have been confined to the Houſe of Commons. The reports of men, enabled from profeſſional knowledge and faithful ſervices to decide, might have merited their moſt ſerious attention. In effect, we ſhould be at a loſs to ſay, how it was poſſible that this enquiry found its way into the Houſe of Commons, if we did not know that Oppoſition * had taken it by the hand. The noble Lord and his Brother relying

* The following ſketches are hazarded with diffidence:

Mr. EDMUND BURKE is attached from friendſhip and intereſt to Lord Rockingham, and ſhared in his ſhort adminiſtration. As its character was "debility," ſo is that of Mr. Burke. He poſſeſſes genius, but he wants judgment; and is better calculated for the cloſet than for a public aſſembly. Intent upon the diſplay of his own abilities, he cannot watch the paſſions, or accommodate himſelf to the temper of his audience. In his reaſoning he is too ſubtile and abſtruſe. He never ſtrikes boldly at his adverſary, but by endeavouring to circumvent, ſuffers him to eſcape. He renders politics a ſyſtem

relying upon ſuch powerful aſſiſtance, looked forward, not only to an honourable acquittal, but

ſyſtem of metaphyſics. We admire, but we are not convinced. Trifling, diffuſive, and puerile, he ſeems to have choſen the *ludit amabiliter* for his motto; and when we expect him, in all his dignity, upon the front of the theatre, we find him at play behind the ſcenes.—Yet he has his excellencies. His imagination is warm and fruitful. He plays with the moſt difficult ſubject; he leads it through the winding mazes of his fancy; he places it in a thouſand lights; he gives it an infinity of colours. We admire for a while the ſplendour of the dreſs; but the eye becomes tired with the gaudy glare of the glittering tinſel, and wiſhes for the beautiful ſimplicity of nature. Inſtead of bringing forward the bold outlines and prominent features of his figure, he beſtows his labour upon the drapery. And even in this he is faulty. His purple robes reſemble a patched garment. He often debaſes the ſublimeſt thought by the coarſeſt alluſion; and mingles the vulgarity of idiom with the moſt delicate graces of expreſſion.—Mr. Burke has a certain currency with all parties. He can never riſe into *Sterling value* with any.

Mr. Fox wants every requiſite to form the exterior of an orator. His perſon is ſhort and ſqualid; his appearance mean and diſagreeable. His voice, naturally inharmonious, is rendered more ſo by his unſkilful management of it. His countenance is ſtrongly Judaic. At his Jeruſalem levee, if a ſtranger were to be aſked, which of the choſen race preſent had moſt of the blood of Jacob in his veins, Mr. Fox would be pointed out as the man. He poſſeſſes ſtrong ingredients to form a political character. He has early been accuſtomed to the viciſſitudes of fortune, and marked out by the ſtorms

of

but to a vote of thanks: and it was the intereſt of Oppoſition to promote the enquiry, whatever

of fate. He is a ſtranger to thoſe indulgences of youth, which unnerve the intellectual ſyſtem: the liſtleſs languor that ſucceeds the exceſſive hilarity of ſocial pleaſures; the abuſe of wine; or the immoderate enjoyment of women. Play has filled up the meaſure of his time; and he has experienced all its diſtraction. From affluence and proſperity, he has been reduced to beggary and want; from a command of fortune and friends, to a ſervile dependence upon uſurious creditors. This has fitted him for the great buſineſs of a kingdom, and taught him to look for revolutions. In the Houſe of Commons he leads Oppoſition. He is not ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a great fund of information, but his mind ſupplies this deficiency from her own inexhauſtible treaſure. His underſtanding is ſtrong and maſculine; his expreſſion full and copious. In proportion to the quickneſs of his conception, his delivery is rapid. The torrent of argument comes rolling from him with irreſiſtible force. He does not leave his hearers to follow; he drives them before him. He is a perfect maſter of the art of debate; and diſguiſes the ſentiments of his opponents with ſo much dexterity, that it is ſome time before we perceive the diſtortion. The ſtrongeſt ſenſe is not proof againſt his power. He fits truth to the rack of ingenuity, and tortures the unhappy ſufferer. His eloquence never fails to produce its effect. It ſtrikes the whole aſſembly; every man communicates the ſhock to his neighbour.—With theſe qualifications he would riſe to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, if as ſtriking diſadvantages did not fetter his flight. He is ſuppoſed to want firmneſs. He is ſaid to be deſtitute of principle. As his character is ſo bare to public view, his efforts are not imputed to honourable motives. His invincible attachment to play makes it impoſſible for him to poſſeſs the confidence of his country; and though his abilities are admired by all men, no man wiſhes him to be employed.

might be the event to the noble Admiral and the honourable Commander, becauſe it would take up the time and haraſs the attention of Government, at a juncture when time was moſt wanting, and attention ſhould be leaſt embarraſſed.

Such was the tribunal, before which they appeared. Miniſtry had declared they ſhould confine themſelves to their own exculpation; Oppoſition favoured their cauſe; ſo that they had little to dread from the rigour of their judges. The evidence is equally ſtrange.

Lord Cornwallis was the firſt examined; and truly his Lordſhip's teſtimony is of a very curious nature. Before he anſwers any queſtion, he takes an opportunity to aſſure the Houſe of his great veneration and regard for the character of Sir William Howe; and that he thinks he has ſerved his country with fidelity, aſſiduity, and great ability. After having borne this public teſtimony to the General's conduct, he begs the Houſe to underſtand, that he ſhall not anſwer queſtions of opinion, but merely queſtions of matter of fact. The policy of this conduct is obvious. Lord Cornwallis will not ſubject himſelf to the dilemma of giving his opinion upon particular operations, becauſe if he gave it in favour of the General, he might be at a loſs

to juſtify it; and if upon queſtions being propoſed to him, the anſwers ſhould turn out unfavourable to the General, he would then leave the Houſe at a loſs to underſtand, how he came to form ſuch an opinion of Sir William Howe's *great ability*. The reſource was certainly happy, and does honour to his Lordſhip's ingenuity.

I ſhall not enter into the particulars of his Lordſhip's evidence; becauſe, upon the face of it, it is inadmiſſible evidence. He appears to have been ſo much a party concerned, that the vindication of his military reputation is neceſſarily connected with that of Sir William Howe. Like Pylades and Oreſtes, they will go down hand in hand to poſterity. It is univerſally admitted, that the defeat at Trenton * gave a moſt unfortunate turn to the war; perhaps the moſt ſo of any defeat we have ſuffered. It is as undeniably

* The ſucceſs of the Rebels at Trenton had a very miſchievous effect on the Britiſh ſervice. It removed that panic with which the New States of the Middle Colonies were ſtricken. It enabled the Congreſs and the Members of the New State of Pennſylvania, to return to Philadelphia, the moſt advantageous poſt for their reſidence in all America. It revived their ſpirits, and the ſpirits of the diſaffected.—It induced a number of the militia to turn out, who otherwiſe would not have done it; and contributed in a great meaſure to the raiſing of the army which Waſhington commanded the next campaign.—Evidence of J. Galloway, Eſq.

true,

true, that that defeat was owing to the too great extenſion of our cantonments. "I was the perſon, ſays Lord Cornwallis, who ſuggeſted to Sir William Howe the idea of extending his cantonments, and I think myſelf bound in honour to anſwer for it (*n*)." Upon another occaſion, the action of Brandywine, he aſſures the Houſe, "he did not concur in that meaſure; that he has no right to take any merit from it (*o*);" from this negative pregnant we are left to conclude he did concur in moſt other meaſures; and in anſwer to ſeveral queſtions, he makes a diſtinction between public conſultations, and private conferences (*p*); from all which it evidently appears, that Sir William Howe, upon almoſt all occaſions, conſulted with Lord Cornwallis. His Lordſhip is indeed cautious how he gives any direct proof of this. When a queſtion is put to him, the anſwer to which might make any meaſure his own, his Lordſhip objects to it; and his objection cannot certainly be over-ruled. It would be admitted at the bar of any court of juſtice in the kingdom, *I will not anſwer your queſtion; it tends to criminate myſelf.*

(*n*) Examination of Lord Cornwallis before the Houſe of Commons.

(*o*) Ibid. (*p*) Ibid.

General Grey, who comes next, is certainly a competent, though not a very credible witneſs (*q*). He ſpeaks with too much confidence, and with too little conſideration to make much impreſſion upon the minds of ſenſible men. He mentions Sir William Howe, in terms of the higheſt panegyric, and enters into a juſtification of many particular tranſactions. He conſidered the force, under Sir William, as very incompetent to the purpoſe he was entruſted with it to accompliſh; and he does not think that any force this country can ſpare from her home defence and that of her diſtant poſſeſſions, will be able to ſubjugate America (*r*). His evidence may be reduced to this; matter of opinion upon American meaſures, and a great character of Sir William Howe. As to the firſt, his experience does not entitle him to ſpeak with any preciſion; and accordingly we find that he is contradicted in every opinion he has formed; and, with regard to the latter, character

(*q*) This expreſſion is not to be underſtood in an odious ſenſe. It is merely uſed as a legal phraſe. An evidence is *competent*, unleſs under particular diſqualifications; but if his teſtimony be contradicted, we are to judge of his *credibility*. General Grey ſpeaks to matters of opinion, and, I verily believe, ſpeaks from his conſcience; but he is liable to error; and it is no reaſon, becauſe he is too poſitive, that we ſhould be too credulous.

(*r*) General Grey's evidence before the Houſe of Commons.

can only avail in doubtful circumſtances, and is never ſuffered to be placed in oppoſition to facts.

It is unneceſſary to dwell long upon the teſtimonies of the Captains Montreſor and Mackenzie, or Sir George Oſborne. Captain Montreſor ſpeaks to the ſtrength of the Rebel lines at Long Iſland, and the poſition above Quibble-Town, and he thinks in both inſtances the General acted properly in not attempting to force them (*s*). Captain Mackenzie is examined, and informs the Committee, that General Howe gave leave to Sir Henry Clinton to make a diverſion in the Highlands to favour the operations of General Burgoyne (*t*); and Sir George Oſborne proves that the General had notice of the attack at Trenton, and that our defeat was owing to Colonel Rhall's intoxication, and diſobedience of orders. He ſpeaks highly in favour of Sir William Howe, and conſiders him as a great, able, and judicious Commander (*u*).

(*s*) Captain Montreſor's evidence, before the Houſe of Commons.

(*t*) Captain Mackenzie's evidence, before the Houſe of Commons.

(*u*) Sir George Oſborne's evidence, before the Houſe of Commons.

Such

Such is the evidence produced by Sir William Howe; and without conſidering the teſtimony on the other ſide, but admitting this to ſtand uncontradicted, would it be conſidered by the nation as an exculpation from the very heavy charges, under which he has ſo long and ſo generally laboured? Can it be ſuppoſed that the ſenſe of the army has been fairly collected from the opinions of two or three Officers attendant upon his perſon; obliged to him for preferment; attached to him from friendſhip; who ſeem to have ſhared his councils, and to have had an influence over his meaſures? And after all, what does it amount to? That the rebels were in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong country, and that they underſtood the art of intrenching themſelves to advantage. Good God!—but I would wiſh to keep my temper—was Sir William Howe entruſted with forty thouſand men to encounter no difficulties? Was he to prepare for no labours? Did he imagine that his troops were to walk over the ſmooth ſurface of a lawn, and never to attempt a victory but where there was an impoſſibility of a defeat? In an enemy's country, was not delay deſtruction? and ſhould not a blow have been ſtricken that might have ſpread an univerſal panic, even though at a conſiderable expence? If the rebels were found to fortify themſelves ſo ſtrongly, when they were diſlodged from one poſt, why were they ſuf-

fered

fered to ſtrengthen themſelves in another? Was nothing to be hazarded at the head of a valiant and diſciplined army againſt feeble and raw recruits? Was nothing to be truſted to the ardour of troops fluſhed with victory, and in the full career of purſuit after a flying and defeated enemy?—When I hear Officers high in rank hold ſuch language at the bar of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons,—I grow aſhamed for my country; every manly feeling takes the alarm within me! and my blood runs cold with indignation!

If we look back to the time of our gallant anceſtors, we ſhall have reaſon to wonder at their ſucceſſes. The ſyſtem of war admitted not then of ſuch mathematical preciſion; nor did they conſume weeks in the field to calculate the exact force of a ball, or the reſiſtance of an intrenchment, behind which an enemy was lodged. The event of an engagement was not reduced to a certainty; no intricate eſtimation of difficulties determined every enterprize. All was darkneſs, uncertainty and ignorance! They vainly confided in their valour, and truſted to the reputation of their arms. They never counted the numbers of the enemy, but rated the energy of their own troops. And yet this imperfect ſyſtem has led to victory and renown,

and rendered the name of Briton reſpectable in every part of the world.

If engagements had never taken place but between armies of equal ſtrength, the hiſtory of human combats would be comprized within a narrow compaſs; and if this ſyſtem were to prevail, mankind would have little to fear from the future ravages of war. But thoſe troops which we did not dare to *attack within their entrenchments*, thoſe very troops thought it their duty to attack us within ours. "On the morning of the 7th of October, General Arnold marched out to *attack us within our entrenchments:* he advanced under the heavieſt cannonade of artillery, grape ſhot, and rifle fire, I ever beheld, and never gave way till they met the Britiſh grenadiers (*w*)."—I will only obſerve, for the regulation of our future conduct, "*Fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri.*"

Thus would the matter ſtand, if no evidence had been produced to controvert that in favour of Sir William Howe. But the evidence of Mr. Galloway and General Robertſon contradicts directly that of General Grey; and when we conſider that General Robertſon has been

(*w*) Captain Money's evidence, before the Houſe of Commons upon the Canada enquiry.

twenty-

twenty-four years in America, and Mr. Galloway forty-eight; and that General Grey has only paſſed eighteen months in that country; their characters in every reſpect ſtanding upon the ſame footing, we cannot heſitate one moment in our determination (*x*).

But no proof can be ſo ſtrong of the guilt of Sir William Howe, as the manner in which this enquiry terminated. The evidence upon the

(*x*) It is unneceſſary to dwell upon the particulars of General Robertſon's and Mr. Galloway's evidence, of which advantage has been already taken, further than to ſtate briefly, that the latter Gentleman is of opinion that the powers for negociating peace, with which Lord and Sir William Howe, as Commiſſioners, were inveſted, have been injudiciouſly exerted; and inſtead of promoting the purpoſe for which they were delegated, from the manner in which they were employed, have protracted the war, and materially injured our cauſe. General Robertſon does not think the country remarkably ſtrong, and is of opinion we ought to have attacked the Rebel poſts. We wave other particulars. The retreat from Boſton; the expedition to Philadelphia; or the buſineſs of the Jerſeys. The having neglected to make a proper uſe of the powers for negociating peace; the permitting the rebels to throw up entrenchments, and not attacking them; making no purſuit after victory; are the great facts upon which we reſt. We do not inſtitute a rigid ſcrutiny into the conduct of Sir William Howe to bring to light any latent error, but to diſcover whether there is any part of his conduct that is free from error. It is not the trial of virtue; it is the condemnation of vice.

part of Sir William had been gone through; Miniſtry were upon the examination of theirs; when Sir William Howe, who had entreated, who had provoked, who had inſiſted upon this enquiry, neglects to attend at the uſual hour; no Member in his abſence chuſes to move for the further ſitting of the Committee, and it becomes diſſolved of courſe. The Committee makes no report; the Houſe comes to no reſolution.—It is ſufficient to ſtate the fact. It is impoſſible to err in the commentary.

Theſe obſervations are founded in ſtubborn fact, and they will not eaſily be refuted. They are made with the freedom of truth, and the confidence of conviction. They do not proceed from enmity to Sir William Howe, but from zeal for the public ſervice. May he long continue undiſturbed in the *peaceable* poſſeſſion of his enjoyments! Let him throw the dice. Let him lie with his miſtreſs. Play is a venial error, unleſs carried to a criminal exceſs; and the immoderate love of women is a generous failing. We freely forgive the errors which it occaſions, and impute them to an amiable weakneſs. Sir William may be the man of gallantry, the agreeable companion, the generous friend; but it was neceſſary the Public

ſhould know, that he is not the great Commander*.

But whatever may be the opinion reſpecting him, we have certainly derived lights from this enquiry to guide us in our future attempts. If the ſyſtem of war which he purſued be juſtified as a general ſyſtem; ſtill it will be admitted that the oppoſite one would have proved more ſucceſsful in our particular inſtance (y); and of courſe we may expect to ſee it adopted in future. It has convinced us, that the conteſt is not vain, nor the purſuit impracticable; and that if favourable circumſtances have not been improved; if war has been unſkilfully carried on; if peace has been injudiciouſly negociated; we have ſuffered through our "folly, not our fate," and we may hope that the errors of our conduct are not irreparable.

With regard to general Burgoyne, it is not yet time to enquire into his conduct. The day muſt come when that will be diſcuſſed in a proper place. If every Commander, who, in any manner what-

* Perhaps his character may be ſummed up in a few words, by applying to him what Monteſquieu ſays of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, *Sir William Howe is not an Alexander the Great; but he would have made a good ſoldier under Alexander.*

(y) It appears from General Robertſon's evidence, that if the grenadiers had not been called off by the General they would have ſtormed the lines at Brooklyn; and if the attack had been made, they muſt have forced them, as Putnam could not collect three hundred out of all the troops to ſtand to their arms.

ſoever, loſes a King's ſhip, muſt be brought to a court-martial; is it not fit that he alſo ſhould face one, who has loſt an army? One fact, however, is very glaring upon the face of the Canada evidence.—Great ſtreſs is laid throughout upon the opinion of the late General Frazer. His memory is deſervedly eſteemed. His death happened unfortunately for us; it happened fortunately for him. He was not a witneſs to the unhappy condition of his fellow-ſoldiers. He died in the bed of honour; and the tears of his country ſtreamed over his grave.—It is painful to me to quit the language of panegyric for that of reproach. "General Frazer (ſays Colonel King-"ſton) (z) found fault with no operations of the "campaign, but that of employing Germans in-"ſtead of Britiſh, upon the expedition to Ben-"nington."—Is there a man who will take upon him to aſſert, that the Bennington expedition was not the loſs of the Northern Army *?

(z) Colonel Kingſton's examination before the Houſe of Commons upon the Canada enquiry.

(*) The evidence concerning Lord Howe will not be taken any notice of. In his character of Commiſſioner he is equally culpable with the General; and the evidence that affects the one applies to the other. As an Admiral, commanding a numerous and powerful fleet, he has alſo been cenſured. He certainly ſuffered our commerce to be very ſhamefully annoyed. But as the public opinion does not ſeem to be with thoſe who have attacked his conduct, we would rather "praiſe where we "can, than cenſure where we may."

It

It is already very clearly proved, that the Americans in general have been favourable to our cauſe. Events remain to be mentioned that will place this truth in the ſtrongeſt light. No two meaſures could be more odious to the people of America than the Declaration of Independence, and the Treaty with France. At the beginning of this conteſt, the people in general were very far from having independence in view. There were, however, a particular ſet of men who indulged this hope; and by every art, which the deſigning could practiſe over the weak, laboured to bring about their purpoſe. But ſo ſenſible were the Congreſs of the general averſion that prevailed from a ſeparation with this country, that even at the time that they declared independence, they aſſerted, that it was not with a view to a total ſeparation of the two countries, but from neceſſity; becauſe, unleſs they declared independence, *the Powers of Europe would not trade with them*, and they were in great diſtreſs for want of many foreign neceſſaries. To carry the Declaration was found a moſt arduous taſk. Their debates laſted near a fortnight; and when the queſtion was put, ſix Colonies divided againſt ſix; the Delegates for Pennſylvania being alſo divided, the queſtion remained undecided. One of the Members of that Colony, however, changed his opinion; and upon the queſtion, the next day, it was carried

carried in the affirmative, by a *ſingle vote only* (*a*).

It is, therefore, fair, from the very face of the proceedings of Congreſs, to conclude that America was divided upon the queſtion of Independence. But, when we conſider that Congreſs was by no means a juſt repreſentation of the people; that the friends of Government would not vote for a Deputation to an Aſſembly, whoſe proceedings they conſidered as violent and unlawful; that ſome counties ſent no Delegates; that in no county where theſe Delegates were not appointed by the Aſſemblies (which were in four only) were they choſen by one-twentieth part of the people (*b*);—when we conſider all theſe circumſtances, we may ſafely affirm, that a very ſmall part of America favoured this meaſure.

And if ſuch was the caſe at that time, have any circumſtances ſince occurred to reconcile them to it? This country had then treated them with too much pride; and by returning no anſwer to their petition, as if unworthy of any anſwer, had aggravated a fancied injury by a real inſult. The moſt vigorous preparations

(*a*) Evidence of J. Galloway, Eſq.
(*b*) Ibid.

were

were making to ſubdue them; the meaſure of employing foreign troops was then known; unconditional ſubmiſſion was ſounded loudly; in ſhort, it was the time, at which there appeared to be the greateſt degree of iraſcibility in the proceedings of this country—and yet America wiſhed not for Independence! What then muſt be her feelings at this time, when Great Britain has made the moſt ample and liberal conceſſions; when ſhe has offered to wave the claim that gave riſe to the diſpute; and to eſtabliſh the connection, between the two countries, upon the broad and liberal principles of mutual commerce, and reciprocal freedom? The Congreſs aſſured them, they declared Independence, that they might *trade with foreign powers*; they have ſince made them parties to a *treaty offenſive and defenſive* with that power, whom America has ever been taught to conſider with an eye of deteſtation:—a treaty with a deſpotic Monarch, who affects to feel for their violated rights, and their invaded freedom; againſt a nation, from whom their anceſtors deſcended; with whom they have long maintained the neareſt and deareſt connections; whoſe conſtitution is known to be the pureſt production of liberty; whoſe manners, cuſtoms, and diſpoſitions are ſo ſimilar; and with whom they have ſo often fought, bled, and conquered!

But

But it will be naturally aſked, If ſuch are the ſentiments of the people in America, and if this averſion from Independence be ſo univerſal, why do they not riſe in oppoſition to Congreſs? The queſtion is not of difficult ſolution. It may be anſwered by another. *Every tyrant is odious to his people; for the mind of man cannot brook oppreſſion; how happens it then, that ſo many tyrants have been ſuffered to exiſt?* The truth is, it is difficult for a body of people to act in concert. Their feelings are too ſtrong, and their proceedings too diſorderly, to cope with command of temper, regularity, and method. It is not often that men are found who chuſe to lead ſo fickle and tumultuous a body. For if the popular attack ſhould fall ſhort of its purpoſe, it would be impoſſible to puniſh the body of the people, and the Chiefs alone would remain expoſed to the vengeance of power (*c*). It is to the creation of tribunes that Cicero attributes the equilibrium of the Roman conſtitution having been ſo long preſerved. They acted betwixt the ſenate and the people. They knew the fickle temper of the latter, who

(*c*) The American diſpute preſents us at once with the proof and the exception to this rule. The conduct of the Congreſs is certainly an exception to it, for they have placed themſelves in a reſponſible ſituation. The firſt proclamation iſſued proves it; a pardon was offered to all thoſe who ſhould return to their allegiance, *except Hancock and Adams.*

had

had forſaken ſo many of their friends, and permitted ſo many of their favourites to be ſacrificed; and a regard to their own ſafety induced them to controul the fury of the populace, for whoſe meaſures they muſt ultimately be reſponſible; and who to-day might ſtorm the Senate houſe, and to-morrow pull down the Tribunal. Hence they encouraged them in a conſtant oppoſition to the meaſures of the Senate; their harangues were vehement and ſeditious; but they faultered when it became neceſſary to act. Though the inhabitants of America may, in general, be hoſtile to the Congreſs, no one chuſes to be the firſt in reſiſting them. It is difficult to deſtroy a form of Government; and of the only form that at preſent prevails in America, the Congreſs are in poſſeſſion.

Perhaps we may in a great meaſure owe our ſucceſs to accident. From the earlieſt times, the ſubverſion of tyrannical Governments has not being owing to any preconcerted ſcheme, or combination of plans, on the part of thoſe who have ſuffered under them; but to events, which, operating ſtrongly upon the moſt violent paſſions of the human mind, have ſuddenly driven the people to meaſures of diſtraction and fury, and rouſed all the powers of deſpair. At Rome, the tyranny of the Tarquins was not likely to

be aboliſhed, when the dead body of Lucretia produced the expulſion of the tyrants; the people, groaning under uſury and extortion, would never have ſeceded, had not the Debtor appeared in the Forum, covered with ſtripes; and the bloody knife of Virginius effected the ruin of the Decemvirs *(d)*. In like manner, at Athens, a domeſtic injury placed Harmodius and Ariſtogiton at the head of the people; and put an end to the uſurpation of Hippias.

The Congreſs of America, ſenſible that the ſame cauſes muſt ever produce the ſame effects, have endeavoured, by force and fraud, to ſtrengthen and to diſguiſe their proceedings. Thoſe, who abſolutely refuſed to come into their meaſures, have been ſubjected to all the penalties of confiſcation, and finally to the puniſhment of high-treaſon. To prevent reſiſtance, a whole province has been diſarmed. The members, who diſſented from the meaſures of Congreſs, have not been permitted to enter their proteſts. While their reſolutions were publiſhed to the people, ſuch, as beſpoke the violence and diſtraction of their proceedings, had been expunged from their journals; and their meaſures falſely appeared to be the reſult of undiſturbed unanimity. But America begins to

(d) Eſprit des Loix.

murmur

murmur at their conduct. She perceives that her happineſs is not their aim, but that they are actuated by a mad ambition. It is not to be expected that they will cheerfully enter into any negociation with this country, which might put an end to the conteſt. War drew them from inſignificance: peace muſt give them back to obſcurity. But with diſpoſitions in our favour, upon the part of the people, we have little to apprehend from them. Their ſituation is our beſt ſecurity. When America ſhall be ripe for a change, it will become unſafe for them to continue in it; and their meaſures muſt neceſſarily accelerate that moment. They will early affect to ſwim with the ſtream. They may in ſecret ſtrive to counteract, but it is impoſſible that they ſhould openly endeavour to check the general ſpirit. Should they be mad enough to attempt it, our force would co-operate with the people, and leave them no alternative but ſubmiſſion.

If there be any who affect to diſbelieve the teſtimony of Mr. Galloway (*e*), and to ſuppoſe it founded in intereſt, error, or partiality; to ſuch

(*e*) When Mr. Galloway appeared before the Houſe of Commons, an attempt was made to invalidate his teſtimony, by repreſenting him as an *intereſted witneſs*. He had quitted his family; he had fled his country; he had incurred the

ſuch let the *internal evidence* of the conteſt at this period afford demonſtration.

The Americans, before the fatal rupture with this country, enjoyed the produce of a moſt luxuriant climate, and all the advantages of a lucrative commerce. But cultivation has neceſſarily ceaſed, and commerce has been interrupted. The huſbandman loiters over the land, when he conſiders that he is not induſtrious for himſelf; that ſome hoſtile excurſion may ſoon render his fertile dwelling a deſolated waſte, and ſnatch from his helpleſs family their only miſe-

guilt of high-treaſon againſt the States of America; he had given up 40,000 *l.* for a ſcanty pittance barely equal to the wants of the day,—and yet he was an *intereſted man!* one whom *mercenary* motives, it was to be preſumed, would warp from truth, or influence to falſehood! If ſuch inſinuations are practiſed with any ſucceſs, what man will in future make a like ſacrifice for ſo ungrateful a nation? What American in his ſenſes will eſpouſe our cauſe, if after having experienced every ſpecies of perſecution from his own countrymen, he is to meet with ſuch a reception from thoſe for whom he has willingly incurred it? I hope, however, that the national character is too well eſtabliſhed to ſuffer from the behaviour of a particular deſcription of men. Mr. Galloway has endeared himſelf to the inhabitants of this country. The houſe of every loyal Engliſhman is open to him! the hand of every loyal Engliſhman is warm to him! the heart of every loyal Engliſhman beats in his favour! Mr. T———d, Mr. F—x, and Mr. B—ke may aſperſe his character; but every man of honour, juſtice, and humanity, will defend it.

rable

rable ſupport. The parent no longer ſends his offſpring to the field, animated by the tale of liberty, and glad in his country's cauſe. He tells him the forebodings of his anxious mind; he imparts to him the ſuſpicions he entertains; and communicates the doubts which diſtract his aged experience. He turns to the page of hiſtory. There they find that moſt tyrannic governments have owed their origin to popular deluſion, and to the arts of men who have appeared to be the warmeſt friends of liberty, at the moment that they were meditating the moſt abſolute meaſures of deſpotiſm. They read of Piſiſtratus at Athens; of the Decemvirs at Rome; of the Medici at Florence; and, in the hiſtory of their own anceſtors, of the Long Parliament in this country. "My ſon (exclaims he), what are we contending for? We are relinquiſhing the beſt form of Government which human wiſdom ever deviſed, in queſt of uncertain and ideal advantages. We are renouncing an alliance with a free country for one with an abſolute Monarch, who profeſſes a regard for the freedom of America, and an attachment to the natural rights of mankind. What reaſon have we to ſuppoſe him ſincere? Will the nation who ſought to enſlave the United States of Holland, and to deprive them of freedom and independence, become a friend to the United States of

America, who have no other claim to her friendſhip, but that they are ſtruggling to gain theſe privileges? We took up arms to obtain redreſs of a grievance; that purpoſe is effected, and it is time that peace ſhould be reſtored."—The trembling parent thus diſcloſes his mind; and the young man ſorrowful, departs to return no more.—The Congreſs have contracted an immenſe debt, which muſt ultimately fall upon the people. The latter are tired of military ſervice, and pant for the return of peace and domeſtic enjoyment. They compare their former ſituation with the preſent; and are melancholy at the change. One hundred thouſand men have alreàdy periſhed, the fifth part of the white people in America capable of bearing arms *(f)*. Under theſe circumſtances, Congreſs muſt have recourſe to compulſive methods to raiſe ſupplies, and ſend troops into the field; and with theſe diſpoſitions upon the part of the people, they will not be very patiently ſubmitted to.—The man of ſenſe and reflection, who draws information from his own mind, and reaſons upon the probable conſequences of every meaſure, not madly concurring in it as his paſſions urge, or ſervilely acquieſcing as authority requires, perceives in a very ſtriking

(f) Mr. Galloway's evidence.

point

point of view, the different ſituations of the two countries. He knows, that if the conteſt were to ceaſe at this moment, it muſt terminate proſperouſly for America; much to the glory of her arms, to the honour of her councils, and to the advantage of her people. She will have obtained the firſt object of contention, and have acquired the moſt invaluable privileges. He conſiders that Great Britain cannot put an end to the war by treaty, without acknowledging American independence. If he conſider independence as a deſirable object for America to obtain, he alſo conſiders, that it will be diſadvantageous for Great Britain to loſe it; and that if it will be glorious for America to ſucceed, it will be diſgraceful for Great Britain to be defeated. If it ſhould take off a few reſtraints from their commerce, it will not only ruin our trade, but may terminate in the loſs of all our diſtant poſſeſſions, of our name among nations, perhaps of our exiſtence as a ſtate. He ſees nothing but certain diſgrace and infamy, and probable ruin for Great Britain, if ſhe were to acknowledge the independence of America. Her nice ſenſe of honour; her pride as a great nation; her ſpirit, and her invincible perſeverance; her former conduct, and even her preſent reputation, afford him no reaſon to conclude, that ſhe will eaſily become reconciled to infamy, and reſigned to diſgrace; or that ſhe will

give

give herſelf up to ruin without a ſtruggle, and expire without a groan. He places himſelf in her ſituation. He feels what powerful motives urge her to carry on the war, and he foreſees from its continuance an innumerable train of ills. He reflects, that though America is at this moment ſucceſsful, her arms may yet be defeated; and, from every poſſible conſideration, he concludes, that it is not for her intereſt to perſiſt obſtinately in the ſtruggle.—The daily labourer enters not into nice diſquiſition, but reaſons from his immediate feelings. The advantages which he is told to look for, are diſtant and uncertain; inſtant calamities preſs upon him. His perſon is ſubjected to the hardſhips of military ſervice; his property is inſecure from hoſtile attempts; he is oppreſſed by his own friends, and plundered by his enemies. He cannot enter into the views of the former, and of courſe he repines at the hardneſs of his lot; and when he looks around, he beholds no poſſeſſions of the latter, upon which he may ſatisfy his reſentment by committing depredations, or reimburſe himſelf, by making repriſals. Thus perſecuted and diſtreſſed, it is but natural that he ſhould wiſh for an end to the war, becauſe it would prove an end to his calamities.—On the other hand, if the people of America look up to their friends, they are poſſeſſed of too much ſenſe to ſuppoſe, that the motives proclaimed

claimed by the court of France are thoſe which really influenced her to afford them aſſiſtance. They know that her hiſtory is one continued endeavour to ſubdue the liberties of mankind, and to reduce the government of every nation to her own deſpotic ſtandard. Intereſt and ambition armed this aſpiring power. She diverts the ſtreams of American commerce from their accuſtomed channel, that they may flow in upon her own ſoil, and render it rich and fertile: ſhe aſſiſts America to ſhake off the dependence upon this country, that America may become dependent upon her. Theſe truths are too ſtriking to be diſguiſed; and the Americans are already alarmed for the conſequences. They foreſee that it is impoſſible the two powers can long maintain an intercourſe founded upon the principles of mutual advantage; that the diſſonance of their manners, government, and religion, can never act in concert ſo as to produce harmony. How will a people, the forms of whoſe religion are ſo ſimplified that they will not even ſuffer a Biſhop to reſide among them, be reconciled to the pomp of high maſs, and the idolatrous worſhip of the Roman Catholic church? If they will not tolerate theſe, is it not likely that France will feel for her inſulted faith, and inſiſt upon a due obſervance of her ceremonies? Is a ſpirit of meekneſs and ſubmiſſion, of patience under controul, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic

of this ſect? In ſhort, the union is unnatural, and it cannot poſſibly continue.

It is true, our ſituation is in ſome reſpects more arduous than it was. France and Spain have armed againſt us, and it does not appear that we have any foreign allies. We muſt not, however, deſpair. The national jealouſy, which ſubſiſts between theſe powers, will, in all probability, prove favourable to us. Inſtead of ſtrengthening, they may weaken each others efforts. If we ſhould not prove ſucceſsful, our ſituation muſt make us friends; for it is not the intereſt of Europe to permit us to be ſacrificed. Holland will afford us aſſiſtance in time, though ſhe ſeems unwilling to give it at preſent. She is a trading power, and will endeavour to make the *beſt bargain*. The market is certainly favourable to her; but when we ſhew leſs anxiety to purchaſe, ſhe will become more willing to treat. But even ſhould we remain totally deſerted, and continue without aſſiſtance, the ſituation is not unparalleled in our hiſtory. "When poor old England ſtood alone, and had not the acceſs of another kingdom, and yet had more, and as potent enemies as it now hath, yet the King of England prevailed *(g)*.

I do not, however, mean to repreſent our ſituation as that of perfect eaſe. It has great

(g) Sir Edward Coke, Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. vii. p. 400.

and

and numerous difficulties. If we ſhould be under the neceſſity of recalling our troops from America, the probability of recovering it will be diſtant indeed. We can only preſerve our friends by affording them protection; or induce others to become ſo, by having a force at hand to aſſiſt them. We have in this part of the world a fleet which can face that of France and Spain; in the Weſt Indies we are equal, and in the Eaſt Indies greatly ſuperior to them (*b*). They cannot tranſport any body of troops to attack our diſtant poſſeſſions, while we preſerve the ſovereignty of the ſea; and at home we have a defence that leaves us little to apprehend.

To

(*b*) Since the firſt edition of this Pamphlet was publiſhed, our fleet in the Weſt Indies has ſuffered a defeat, and at home we have avoided an engagement, by retreating before the fleets of France and Spain. The circumſtances of Admiral Byron's misfortune are well known; unhappily, the wind would not permit him to ſuccour his own ſhips, or to combat thoſe of the enemy, or there is every reaſon to conclude, from the gallant conduct of the few which engaged, and from the French under all their advantages having reaped no benefit from the engagement, that the Britiſh fleet would have proved victorious.—The fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, it is true, did avoid the enemy; but, I truſt, not by a confuſed and precipitate flight, but by a deliberate and undaunted retreat. Whether the nation has a right to expect, that at all times the navy of Great Britain ſhould be ſuperior in numbers to the combined fleets of France and Spain, is a point I will not pretend to determine; though it is certain, our object ever has been, and ever muſt be, to preſerve the dominion of the ſeas. Britiſh courage may

To our navy every effort ought to be directed; and while this continues upon a ſuperior footing, our army in America may be left to act. At any rate, we ſhould ſuffer many of our poſſeſſions to be ſacrificed before we conſent to relinquiſh America. In the ſhipwreck of the ſtate, every thing valuable cannot be preſerved; but this is the plank to which we ſhould cling, and the laſt property from which we ſhould part.

It is often ſaid, How did this country ſubſiſt before America was diſcovered? The anſwer is plain: *America unknown to us was unknown to every other power.* But now that ſhe has received from this country the principles of freedom, and the elements of commerce; that her inhabitants have been employed in our manufactures; that her ſhipwrights have built, and her ſailors navigated our ſhips; that her ſoldiers have been trained to our diſcipline, and fought under our banners; ſhall we permit them to turn theſe advantages againſt the nation from which ſhe derived them? It is not only a weight

effect miracles; but we ſhould rather rejoice when they happen, than truſt to their taking place; and it is even poſſible for courage to be overpowered by numbers. No doubt we ſhall receive ſome ſatisfaction upon this ſubject from thoſe within whoſe peculiar province it falls; and who, I am perſuaded, feel it equally their duty and their inclination to ſubmit their conduct to the conſideration of their country.

taken

taken out of our ſcale, but it is alſo thrown into the oppoſite one. If America were to become a great and independent power in a durable alliance with France, what a powerful addition of ſtrength would this country have to combat in every future war with her natural enemies! But if France were not to ſucceed in her views upon America, and the latter were to become a great nation unconnected with her, it is at leaſt certain, that if America and this country were to make war againſt each other, France would always join America. Lord Shelburne truly ſaid, *When the independence of America ſhall be acknowledged, the ſun of this country will be ſet for ever in the Weſt.*—The power, the commerce, the conſtitution of this country, can exiſt no longer than America is dependent upon her.

If we are not convinced of this truth, every blow that we ſtrike is an outrage done to humanity. Every drop of blood that we ſpill becomes an indelible ſtain upon the national character. We do not wage honourable war. We commit barbarous murder.—If, on the contrary, we feel its force, the object is worth contending for. Every man will be convinced that the ſafety and exiſtence of his country are at ſtake; that he is not ſtruggling for dominion and empire, but that he is fighting *pro aris et focis.* He muſt not liſten to the idle diſcourſes of extravagant theoriſts, who talk of "the friendſhip

friendſhip of America being an infinite recompence in exchange of an irkſome dominion, onerous to them, and barren to us (*i*)." Treaties are dictated by convenience, and violated as intereſt requires. Friendſhip among nations is a ſoleciſm in politics. We muſt have ſome better ſecurity for the friendſhip of America, than an unhallowed form of words. That ſecurity muſt be a dependence upon this country; and in the purſuit of this object, diſadvantages muſt not diſhearten us. Let difficulties multiply, and one defeat ſucceed another, ſtill we muſt continue firm and conſtant to our purpoſe, and not waver, as fortune proves fickle. We will emulate the conduct of that illuſtrious people, among whoſe conqueſts that of our anceſtors was not reckoned the leaſt difficult. They ſeemed to acquire activity from every defeat, and to gain, like *Antæus*, freſh force from every fall. They were not dejected with every reverſe of fortune; but preſerved a greatneſs of ſoul in the moſt deſperate ſituations. When Pyrrhus, after having obtained many ſucceſſes over the Romans, offered to treat with them upon advantageous terms; they replied, in the true ſpirit of magnanimity, *Let Pyrrhus depart from Italy.* When Hannibal was laying waſte the Roman territory, they ſent

(*i*) Mr. David Hartley's Letters, p. 41.

Scipio

Scipio to beat down the gates of Carthage.—We muſt be prepared for the moſt calamitous events. We muſt look forward to what *may* happen, and put the queſtion to ourſelves, Have we fortitude to encounter it? If the anſwer ſhould prove in the affirmative, let us not only act, but reaſon like men. To-day we may reduce a fort in America; to-morrow we may be defeated before one; but theſe are caſualties which muſt not be ſuffered to interfere with our great purpoſe and deſign.

But it is time to put an end to theſe Obſervations. It has been ſaid, *It is impoſſible to ſubdue the rebellion in America*;—they are offered to the public, with a view to prove the falſehood of that aſſertion. They ſubmit to the candour of the nation, whether it has not been eſtabliſhed by incontrovertible evidence, that our failure hitherto has been owing to very groſs miſmanagement; and that though from their public and formal acts it may appear otherwiſe, yet the people of America are favourable and friendly to our cauſe; and there is every reaſon to hope for future ſucceſs from wiſe and vigorous meaſures. If the attempt is admitted to be practicable, the merits of this imperfect performance will then be compreſſed within a narrow compaſs. To thoſe who are of opinion, that the eſſential welfare of this country depends upon

reducing the Americans to their former dependence, little argument will be neceſſary to prove, that we ſhould ſhed our laſt drop of blood in the attempt; and it is hoped, that theſe remarks may contribute to inſpire them with proper confidence, and manly hope. But to thoſe, who think differently; who aſſert, that, "the "friendſhip of America will be an infinite re-"compence in exchange of an irkſome domi-"nion, onerous to them and barren to us," all argument muſt be vainly employed! For it would be madneſs to juſtify a war that may terminate in our ruin, and cannot poſſibly contribute to our advantage.

FINIS.